[Ait Mh'nd]
[Idma]

133 /46/ The a. Mh'nd are isolated, like the Iguntar. They are
101 backed up to the enormous mass that we call the Tabgurt, but
634 which in reality corresponds to different appellations for the
619 native: Timezgida Wager Wadaden and Awrir u Ginnus, for the
two summits of the massif that our maps name "Tabgourt" and
[823] estimate at 3,200 meters of altitude. According to the local interpretation, Tabgurt is high ground dominating the plain of the H'adduyws on one hand, the a. Dris on the other. Tizi n-Trga opens from this side. On the W. another col, the Tizi n-Tgurzatin. After which reigns the Awrir n-Zkkat'.

181 It is at the foot of these reliefs that the a. Mh'nd lead their
101 life of former conquerors fallen into a respectable comfort and
634 absorbed by their lands, their flocks, their walnut trees. Allied
619 with their Idma neighbors, they have abstained from expansions. Besides, they were barred downstream by their suzerains of Ad'erd'ur. The coincidence of the bourg habitat with the political cell and the agrarian order is total here. Later we shall study in
[128] detail the portioning of their fields, irrigated by two sources, and where a rotation of crops plays a role, implying imperious collective agreements.

[527] These agreements manifest themselves in feasts of color and song, days of chorus, ah'wach, on the superb lawn that the glacial foliage of giant walnut trees shades all summer. The plan of the
361 village, through a new encounter with the other orders of phe-
619 nomena where the deep social harmony of this group is expressed, reveals a division still perceptible between ikhs-s. Important because of the population as well as because of the architecture, composed of dense quarters of joined houses with tunneled streets, it is striking because of an urban character. And this liaison between a richly-balanced agricultural life, a municipal liberty, and a sort of city finality is not the least significant feature of the life of the high cantons.

619 Conquests By Force: the Idma Domain
634
101 This is a domain, not a country. It was constituted by arms,
175 starting from the sixteenth century. The small, puny, energetic,
181 and sly men who hold it came from the Anti-Atlas and have
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/130 cont./

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/footnote 1 continued/ Egyptian edition, 1930, a breviary of erudite centos and good-woman advice, with numerous agricultural references, is sold throughout North Africa, and, it is said, even in Egypt. It would be interesting to know if the "mahone calendar" used in Algeria by sailors and peasants has any link with this Mussulman folklore.

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Finally, beside /131/ the old rural celebrations, like the "New Year," yenneyr, or "Candlemas," lançra, the Mussulman fasti, following the lunar year and hence disconnected from the first two rhythms, also introduce their holiday or cease-work periods. Whence a complex system. The study that might be made of it for a given milieu would be suggestive. But it would rather come under the jurisdiction of folklore. At first sight, it is the similitudes with the rest of the Maghreb, even Arab, rather than peculiarities that would constitute the principal problem here (1).

[191]

1. We shall find at various times the same Maghrebi community, subjacent, in a way, to regional developments. To speak like A. Varagnac, the "archéocivilisation" of North Africa is one. From that perhaps comes the fact that ethnology is so little efficacious in accounting for the veritable characteristics of the different regions. The originality is not in the "foundation," it is in the treatments that it has undergone, that is to say, in the history.

128 Two investigations will be detached from it as better adapted to the character of our work: first, on the unfolding of the agricultural campaign; then on the functions devolving, in the bosom of the group, on such and such subgroups.

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

796 794 619 (181) It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Abdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

796 794 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa, that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 484 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

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527 /273 cont./
1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'ǎjj Hffd' created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This reserve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

794 484

The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

796 794

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sǎid u Âbdennǎim (1);

1. Dawh'at an-nǎchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜfd, who repelled the advances of the Sǎadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

/43 cont./

621
613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

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[595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three
[622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613
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562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to
[771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

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1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

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[788]
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[831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11
(ca. 1900)

the southern Shluh groups) or of the tribe. These higher officials customarily carried the title of *amghar* (a Berber word derived from the root *mqour*, signifying "to be great or important") and of *sheikh* – these titles also appearing in such combination as *amghar n'tuga* ("chief of the grass"), *sheikh er rbi'a* ("chief of the spring, grass[?]"), and *sheikh el 'am* ("chief of the year"). In most cases these chiefs held office for only one year, though in some cases they could be reelected for a second term. Among the Ait Outferkal (605), however, the term of office corresponded in years to the number of divisions in the district responsible for appointing the tribal chief. More recently each district of this tribe has had a separate chief appointed for life – this is also the situation in many of the sub-Saharan regions explored by Foucauld. Among most Berber groups it was customary for the district or tribal president to remain in office for longer than a year if a war developed during his term of office, and if he proved himself to be a capable leader. Only in time of war did he have any real power (Loubignac, 1942, pp. 281-282).

To be eligible for the post of tribal chieftain an individual generally had to be a native of the tribe, although long residence therein (40 years or so) sometimes could substitute for this requirement. The applicant also had to have experience in high public office; this and the previous requirements limited the circle of candidates to include only the tribal notables. The actual selection of the tribal *amghar* was almost always the prerogative of the *jemaa* – the only exceptions being among the Ait Mehammed (606) in the area of Azilal, and at Boudenig (in the area of the Ait Izdeg du Guir [438]), where the tribes have delegated the responsibility of choosing their leaders to holy men. Here and elsewhere, the selection is customarily made in the spring. Among the Ait Ichkern (416), for example, the incumbent *amghar* at this time notifies a conference of notables known as *asifed* ("return of powers") that his term is about to expire, and calls the tribe together for the ceremony known as the *taalamt*, for which he fixes the date. At the appropriate time delegations from all the divisions of the tribe assemble at the designated site with their tents, horses, and servants, accompanied *en masse* by the tribes-people. The preliminary festivities,

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

635 666 527 lasting for four days, are marked by various forms of entertainment, with banquets playing a leading role. Only after the conclusion of the festivities does the tribal council turn to the task of selecting the new tribal leader (Loubignac, 1942, p. 282).

635 666 [643] To ensure strict equality between the various divisions of the tribe each is called upon in turn to designate a member as a candidate for tribal chief – while if the office is that of supreme chief over the many tribes of a single confederation (this chief being appointed sometimes in time of war) those divisions having the privilege of making nominations are selected by lot. Once elected the appointee is theoretically prevented from rejecting the proferred honor by a sense of moral obligation – a sense reinforced in some tribes by the threat of sanctions. Nevertheless, there is in practice always some resistance to the appointment, for the office carries with it great responsibility and heavy expenses (Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 631 [621] [613] After his succession to office the new *amghar* carries out two measures which are indispensable for the effective exercise of his authority. First, he appoints from among the notables of each division one who is to act as the "respondant" or "guarantor" for that division – this respondant being responsible for the conduct of the members of the division, for the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, and for the application of sanctions if necessary. The respondant of each division or fraction in turn designates repondants in every commune over which he has jurisdiction, and these commune respondants in turn designate respondants for each village or [182] minor lineage. This system of command and of delegation of authority assures the execution of orders given by the *amghar*, but also acts to promote the autonomy of the smaller social units, for the minor respondants and council members take care of all local problems in their own way without interference from the tribal *amghar*. The second step carried through by the *amghar* is to revise and enlarge the schedule of fines so as to encourage obedience to his promulgations (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 227; Loubignac, 1942, p. 283).

635 554 In the traditional democratic Berber republic the duties of the *amghar* are often poorly defined, for they often duplicate those still